

its passage. Why do you want to agitate it? We do not care particularly about the agitation, but object to your logging in such a manner as to bring this question to the front. [Laughter.] When you ask us to pronounce a finality upon such sentiments, we shall not do it.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THURSDAY, JUNE 10, 1852.

UNCLE TOM'S CABIN.

Copies of this work are for sale at the office of the *National Era*, on 7th street. Price—in paper covers, \$1; cloth, \$1.50; cloth, full gilt, \$2. Persons at a distance of not over 500 miles can have this work in paper covers mailed to them, free of postage, on addressing L. Clephane, at this office, and enclosing \$1 in money and 27 cents in post office stamps—over 500 miles the postage will be 54 cents.

"THE ISSUE"—THE MISSION OF THE DEMOCRACY.

The Washington Union, until lately, was so moderate in its discussion of the Slavery Question, that the *Southern Press* was constantly upbraiding it with disloyalty to Slaveholding interests. As the Presidential campaign drew near, and the indications became manifest that the Anti-Slavery section of the Democratic Party at the North did not intend to urge its views to the point of a disruption of party relations, the "organ" began to give a more distinct sound. It boldly insisted upon the re-affirmation of the Compromise and Fugitive Law, in its totality and finality, as a part of the Democratic platform. In this course it was sustained by the tacit acquiescence of nearly all the Free-Soil Democratic members of Congress, by the indecisive tone (with a single exception) of the few who at first proclaimed adverse opinions, and by the compromise resolutions carried through the House by a majority of the Democratic members. Then followed the famous correspondence of the Eleven, accepting and ratifying the Totality and Finality test. This elicited the Union beyond all bounds, and its editor, fondly trusting that the whole Party had at last become soundly converted to the faith of the peculiar institution, took occasion, on the Sabbath after the appearance of the correspondence, to deliver a Biblical Lecture on Slavery, in which he took the ground that, in the light of Divine truth, the Anti-Slavery movement was a sin, and Slavery a patriarchal system, sanctioned by Moses and all the prophets, and also the luminaries of the Christian Dispensation. In his opinion, it seems the platform of the Democracy should be theological as well as political, that with the Bible, added to the Compromise, the Constitution, the Baltimore Platform, and the resolutions of '98, its foundations must endure forever.

Having thus defined the religious as well as political creed of the Party, it proceeded in subsequent numbers to argue that the main issue of the coming struggle was, *Slavery versus Anti-Slavery*. Here is one specimen of the way in which he refers to the subject:

"In the absence of all excitement in regard to the old points of difference between the two great parties, a brief examination of the main issue before the country, and an inquiry into the relations which those parties respectively bear towards it, would not seem at the present moment inappropriate or ill timed."

"Anti-Slavery agitation is to be continued—continued, too, in defiance of each one and all of the interests of the country, in opposition to sentiments political or purely patriotic—carried on and carried out without regard to consequences, however momentous—results, however appalling. Mark, too, the extent to which the designs thus announced are made to reach. Anti-Slavery agitation is no longer to be confined to purposes of excluding the South from the Territories, ruling out the admission of more slave States to the Union, and abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia. The termination of its existence in the country is the end now aimed at, and which no sane man can contemplate without being conscious that it would be the end of the Constitution—the end of the Republic."

"This, then, is the issue. Shall agitation for such an end be permitted, or shall Anti-Slavery agitation in any shape be any longer tolerated?" No matter what the purpose, or the manner of those who commence or continue it, no matter if it is directed merely against the attempts of Pro-Slavery propagandists to extend the system, or against the introduction of Slavery into the Free Territories, or for the repeal of the act of Congress re-negating in this District the Slave code of Maryland, or against the payment of money out of the Federal Treasury for slaves as property, or against the efforts of Slaveholders to put down free discussion: no matter if it take the form simply of well-tempered argument in favor of the substitution of free labor for slave labor, or of ecclesiastical correspondence between churches on the subject, or of abstinence from the use of slave-labor products: no matter where the agitation may be, whether in the free States, or among the citizens of the Slave States desirous by legal means to prepare the way for ultimate emancipation—the issue, the main issue, of the ensuing Presidential struggle, is, Shall Anti-Slavery agitation, in any shape, anywhere, be tolerated? The Democratic Party says, No! Its holy mission, its only mission, is, to guard the sacred ark of Slavery, and thus the unsanctified hand reached out to violate it.

This is precisely the meaning of the Washington Union. There can be no mistake about it. Hear it again: "Let not the South be deceived on this vital point. The Democratic organization is the only party organization in the North which dares to oppose itself to the Anti-Slavery movement, or which can do so without being trampled down at once. This battle the Northern Democracy has resolved to fight. What was made clear enough by Democratic action in State Conventions and Legislatures, and by recent Democratic votes in Congress, was repeated but beyond all dispute or peradventure by the answers recently made by the Democratic leaders to the questions submitted to them. The Democracy is to make a stand for the peace of the country and the preservation of the Union. This, as against further Anti-Slavery aggression, is its chief issue in the coming canvass. Surely it is an issue which, more than any other in our political history, calls on every Southern man to do his duty."

We congratulate the Democracy upon its high vocation. With Moses and the Prophets, and the Apostles, and the Fathers of the Democratic church, and the holy Eleven, with the Bible in one hand and the Constitution in the other, bearing in letters of light on its broad phylactery the resolutions of '98, the Baltimore platform, the Compromise, and the Fugitive

Slave Law—who can doubt the glorious results? Of course, Anti-Slavery agitation will be put down, and Democracy and Slavery reign together in perpetual harmony and peace! And what a beautiful sight it will be, to see the erring Democrats from the North, who for a little while went astray after the false god of Liberty, now rejoicing the elect host, and participating in the millennial benedictions of the new dispensation!

Seriously, we think the Washington Union is presuming too much on the pliability of our Northern friends. There are at least a few liberal Democrats of the North who cannot be persuaded that either profit or honor is to be gained by enlisting under the banner of the Slave Power in a crusade against the prevailing sentiment of their own section. They cannot be persuaded to support a candidate standing upon the sublime issue expounded by the Union.

THE HUNKER DEMOCRACY—ITS CONVENTION AND CANDIDATES.

We present in another place a condensed report of the proceedings of the National Democratic Convention, which assembled at Baltimore on the 1st, and adjourned on the 5th of June. It was thoroughly Hunker in spirit, principles, and organization. The Slave Power reigned supreme over its deliberations, and of the few liberal Democrats present, who in 1848 sanctioned the Principles, or supported the Candidates, of the Buffalo Convention, not one by word or vote evinced the slightest disposition to resist the overpowering influence of Slavery. The radical Democrats of New York rallied under the lead of Marcy, an inveterate Hunker, the enemy of Silas Wright, one of the pledged Eleven, and the radical Democrats of Ohio upon Cass or Douglas, both pledged by deed and word to the demands of Slavery.

The rules of the House of Representatives were adopted, by which it was easy to exclude freedom of debate.

While the free States generally sent only the number of delegates to which they were entitled, several of the Slave States were represented by scores of delegates who by the pressure of numerical force, by acclamations, or hisses, as the case might demand, could control the Convention, except when the vote could be taken by States. Virginia had more than a hundred representatives, while Ohio had but her voting number, twenty-three. The whole atmosphere of the Convention was saturated with Hunkerism.

Some weeks ago, Mr. Polk of Tennessee in the House announced to Mr. Rantoul of Massachusetts, that he would be thrust out of the party. The Convention made good the prediction. Mr. Rantoul, in position, talents, and labors, has been at the head of the New England Democracy. By a Democratic Convention regularly called in his district, he was nominated a delegate to the National Convention at Baltimore, by an overwhelming majority. A few dissatisfied Hunkers bolted, held a kind of conventicle of some thirty persons opposed to his nomination, and nominated Mr. Lord. Mr. Rantoul was also nominated for Congress by a regularly authorized Convention of the Democracy, the Old Line Democracy of the district. Mr. Lord was nominated by the few Hunker bolters. On the 7th April, 1851, few Hunker bolters. On the 7th April, 1851, few Hunker bolters. On the 7th April, 1851, few Hunker bolters.

Mr. Rantoul, of course, claimed his seat. Mr. Lord, on the strength of his party of 48, contested it. A committee of the Massachusetts delegation reported that, in its opinion, Robert Rantoul was entitled to the seat. The case was referred to the Committee on Credentials, (Hunker), appointed by the President of the Convention, (a Hunker). The Committee (excepting Mr. Noy) coolly reported in favor of Mr. Lord; Romulus M. Saunders, of North Carolina, demanded the previous question on the adoption of the report, so as to prevent the facts of the case from coming to the knowledge of the members; and the Convention, voting by States, adopted it—yeas 198, nays 83. General Nye of New York moved a reconsideration, made a serious appeal in behalf of justice to Rantoul and the Democracy of his district, at the close of which, on motion of Cave Johnson of Tennessee, the motion to reconsider, without further opportunity for debate, was laid upon the table. So the Convention, without deliberation, instigated by Hunkerism, voted Rantoul out of his seat, and the three thousand Democrats of his district who voted for him, and the thousands of Democrats in New England who sympathize with him, out of the party. Reason: Mr. Rantoul and they hold to the doctrine of Non-Interference by the Federal Government with Slavery and the Extradition of Slaves—which, in the judgment of Hunkerism and its Master, is "a damnable heresy."

The Convention then proceeded to ballot for a Presidential candidate; no one received a vote who had not pledged his veto in advance upon any act of Congress for the repeal or modification of the Fugitive Slave Law. This fact shows the complete apostasy of the Radical Democratic delegates sent by the Radical Democrats of the North to represent their views and principles. At last, wearied by unsuccessful efforts to choose from this consecrated band, it passed them all by, and settled unanimously upon FRANKLIN PIERCE, of New Hampshire, a Hunker of Hunkers, profoundly loyal to Slavery, from whom no word or vote in behalf of Human Rights has ever been recorded, who has avowed his entire devotion to the Compromise, but who, in the absence of any avowal, could be better trusted by the Slaveholding interest than a majority of the candidates for whom it had voted.

Then followed the almost unanimous nomination of the Vice Presidency of William R. King, of Alabama, a thorough-going devotee of Slavery of the Calhoun school, and who, in his letter to Scott, invested the Fugitive Law with the sacredness of the Constitution. Finally, leaving nothing to uncertainty, it placed the candidates under bonds, by passing a special resolution pledging the Democracy party to resist all attempts at renewing in Congress and out of it the agitation of the Slavery Question, under whatever shape or color the attempt might be made—a high-handed, atrocious effort on the part of a popular Convention to put down all freedom of debate in Congress—to thrust a gag in the throats of the People's Representatives.

These resolutions were reported and twice amidst deafening cries, the extra delegates and their friends, crying down the voice of dissent, the previous question was sustained; a separate vote was denied on each resolution; there was not spirit enough among the fair-minded members to demand a vote by States; the whole, ominous, abominable batch was bolted at once, and without investigation! We use the word "abominable" in sole reference to the Slavery portion of the resolutions.

And now, the Democracy of the United States is called upon to ratify the doings of this Convention, to elect its nominees to the highest offices of the Republic, and to make these resolves the basis of Administrative policy for the next four years!

If this nomination prove successful, we shall expect to see California divided, and its southern portion crested into a Slave State—a favorite scheme of the Slave Power, and for the consummation of which it is necessary to secure a favorable Administration. Every barrier to the introduction of Slavery into the Territories would be thrown down: Freedom there is in jeopardy, with the Administration in Washington that regards the Constitution of the United States as carrying with it the right to hold slaves in whatever territory may be acquired by the United States. This is the doctrine insisted upon by that great interest which dictated the nomination, and by the school of politicians to which Mr. Pierce belongs. Nor must we forget that the policy of the annexation of Cuba, and of further acquisitions of territory on our Southwest, for the purpose of extending Slavery, is yet cherished in the South, and will be urged whenever circumstances may seem auspicious. Who doubts that in General Pierce the advocates of this policy will find their most efficient instrument?

And then, by the resolves of the Convention, he and his Party are bound to regard the Adjutant measures, in their totality, as a final settlement of the Slavery Question, so far as agitation against Slavery is concerned, and to resist all attempts to renew this agitation, "in Congress or out of it."—This is a proclamation of war against Free Discussion—it is the old gag policy once attempted to be enforced by the Pinckneys and Pattons of other days. A burden which came near breaking the back of the Democracy twelve years ago, is again fastened upon it. Once more the Democratic Party of the North is to be dedicated to the suicidal task of conquering the Northern People, and making them the bondmen of the Slaveholding Power.

Will the Van Buren Democrats of 1848 submit to such a consecration as this? Will they join in this crusade against the peculiar, cherished sentiments of the North—this flagrant war against the Freedom of Speech and of the Press?

But they will support the nomination, and protest against the platform! Aye—proclaim war against the Principles of your candidate, and then do all you can for his election, so as to make his Principles operative and controlling! Denounce as atrocious the main issue on which he demands your votes, and then stamp that issue as right, or yourselves as the perpetrators of an atrocious wrong, by acceding to his demand.

Mr. Pierce, in accepting the nomination of the Convention, is bound by its Declaration of Principles, its Pledges, its Issues. In himself he represents all these. His election is sought with a view to the establishment of the platform, the fulfillment of these Pledges, the triumph of these Issues. Protest as much as you please, your vote cast for him, makes you responsible in all these particulars. If a candidate and the organization he represents make the main issue of an election, Anti-Slavery agitation or discussion, pledging themselves, if successful, to its suppression, every vote given for them is a vote against agitation, against discussion—a vote to provide means for their suppression. Your vote is an act—your protest, under your vote does something, aye, that very thing which you protest ought not to be done.

What kind of a position will you hold before the public? To promote the success of the nomination to which you pledge yourself, you must crush all your sympathies for Humanity. How would discussion of the Slavery Question help a candidate pledged against it? How would an exposure of the dark plot to smuggle Slavery into California help a candidate who, if elected, would give it aid and countenance? How would the denunciation of the inhuman operation of the Fugitive Slave Law, in some new and startling case, contribute to the election of a candidate bound to resist all attempts to mitigate the law? The truth is, you would be constrained at every step to stop your eyes, shut your ears, gag your tongues, trample down your deepest and holiest convictions, for the purpose of securing the election of a candidate sworn to accomplish what most you abhor; or else, find yourself constantly working against a candidate whom you professed to support, and at last giving a vote which all your previous acts and words would stamp as absurd and inconsistent, indefensible on the ground of logic or ethics.

God deliver you from such a position! The Ballot is the true, manly, consistent, effective way for an American citizen to utter his protest against the wrong Principles sought to be established by the election of a candidate chosen as their representative.

Will the Democratic masses of the Free States think of these things?

THE NEW YORK TRIBUNE.

One day last week, the *New York Tribune* paid its respects to us, as follows:

"The *National Era* is about the most unfair and untruthful organ of the Whig party that we know. We find the following in its article on the late Slavery triumph in the California Legislature: 'There is a curious fact connected with the proceedings in relation to this infamous bill. Its chief author, Mr. Van Buren, was Mr. Van Buren, who, according to the *New York Evening Post*, figured as a Whig Free-Seller in New York in the Presidential campaign of 1848, while its principal opponent was Mr. Broderick, who in the same year ran for Congress on the Hunker ticket.'

"Now we are quite confident the *Evening Post* never said this Van Buren was a Whig Free-Seller in the Presidential campaign of 1848, while its principal opponent was Mr. Broderick, who in the same year ran for Congress on the Hunker ticket."

"Had the present Legislature of California been Whig, the *Era* would have made that fact conspicuous in its article before us; but as it is strongly Democratic, its politics are not alluded to."

The next day it contained the following: To the Editors of the *N. Y. Tribune*: GENTLEMEN: The *Tribune* of this morning has the following: 'Now are quite confident the *Evening Post* never said that Van Buren was a Whig Free-Seller.'

The *Evening Post* (May 17) thus comments on the article of the *Fugitive Slave Law* in the Legislature of California: 'It is worthy of observation, that Mr. Van Buren, who figures in the debate as a champion of the Slavery interest, was a Whig Free-Seller in the Presidential campaign of 1848. We send this correction to you, in justice to the *National Era*. Respectfully,

"AN INDEPENDENT STRANGER."

Well: we publish the above as it was sent, "in justice to the *National Era*." But it is none the less true that the Van Buren in question was a Van Buren Free-Seller in 1848, and we are content he now claims to be a "Democrat." And it is further true that the *Era* has a good reason for picking up every stick which can be used fairly or unfairly for a shay at the Whig.

"And it is further true that the *Tribune* has a genius for picking up every stick which can be used fairly or unfairly for a shay at the Whig."

The *Tribune*, in quoting our paragraph concerning Van Buren, represents us to have put the word "Whig" in italics, thereby directing special attention to it. This is just as unfair as if he had put in our mouth a word that we had not used. We did not italicize the word "Whig" nor did we make any use of the fact stated, against the Whig party. The only use made of it was this:

"It would be instructive to know by what

appliance such changes have been brought about. Indeed, the change in the character of the politicians of the new State, from 1850, when they adopted with great unanimity an Anti-Slavery Constitution, to 1851-2, when they are laboring industriously to smuggle Slavery within its limits, is astounding."

The *Tribune* must try again. It missed fire this time.

PRELIMINARY POEM.

A friend at Norristown, Pennsylvania, regrets the appearance of Freiligrath's Poem in our last number.

His publication was solicited by a respectable man who feels an interest in the cause of European revolution, and we could see no harm in acceding to his request, though we might not concur in all his views.

The Poem is from the pen of one of the revolutionary poets of Germany, and is full of strength and generous sentiment. Our Norristown friend entirely mistakes when he applies it to Kosuth. But even were this the case, why has not Freiligrath as good a right to denounce the particular measure of giving money in this country to aid revolution in Europe, as Kosuth has to advocate it? We have no sympathy with Reaction, or with the miserable assaults upon Kosuth by the Conservative press; but we are not a man-worshiper. Whatever we have said for Kosuth, has been said, not from devotion to the man, but to the principles he has so eloquently advocated. As to the money raised in this country, if wisely appropriated, as we trust it will be, it will be of service to the Revolutionary Committee in obtaining and spreading intelligence, and that is all. Revolution, actual revolution, must be the work of the People themselves. "Who would be free, themselves must strike the blow."

AN ANTI-SLAVERY LEAGUE.—A word to the writer of the proposition on this head on our fourth page. You have no right to place the *Era* in the category of those who are in the habit of wrangling with each other about modes of policy. No facts warrant this classification. The *Era* assails no one for a difference of opinion, unless that difference involves a question of Principle, and its assault is then one of argument, not denunciation. Our friend will allow us to say that we are in all respects as exempt from sectarianism as he is.

THE *Era* AND THE POSTMASTERS.—Generally, Mr. Fillmore's postmasters strive to do their duty, and the *Era* suffers no detriment at their hands. Now and then there is an exception, like that we are about to notice. A friend sending us the name of a new subscriber at Brady, Kalamazoo county, Michigan, adds the following:

"He informed me that he had been at the above-named office, to get information from the postmaster (who is a Whig) as to the amount of subscription. He told him that your paper could not be had for less than two dollars, and that it would not be sent more than one-half the price, and he declined to let him subscribe for the *Detroit Tribune* instead."

The *New York Tribune* will please take notice that we quote this, not from that unrelenting hostility to the Whig party it is in the habit of imputing to us, but to show that a man may do a very mean thing, even if he is a Whig.

By the way, if our subscribers at Brady fail to receive their papers, they will please inform us of the fact. The General Post Office Department is generally prompt in remedying such difficulties, so far as may be within its power.

THE VALUE OF RESOLUTIONS.

There was a time when the radical Democrats of New York attached little importance to the resolutions or creed promulgated by their State Conventions. They would not object to Hunker candidates, provided the platform they stood upon was sound.

Presently their opinions underwent a change, and when the re-union took place in New York, on the basis of Hunker resolutions, they then, resolutions all at once became quite important—they but expressed the opinion of individual members of the convention—the great thing was the ticket—the majority of nominees on that were radical Democrats—enough! what more could be wanted?"

Well, the re-union was effected upon that basis, and has become of the radical Democracy of New York? Lost! swallowed up in a Convention at Baltimore, the little finger of whose inequities is larger than the loins of the Convention of 1848.

Resolutions are of some account; the platform of a Party is a matter of radical moment. The tenacity with which the Democratic Party has clung to the Baltimore Platform, and the influence this has exerted over its action, demonstrate this.

We are sorry, very sorry, to see the *New York Evening Post* (let it be true!) laboring to make light of the enormity of the slavery resolves of the late Baltimore Convention.

"But," it says, "whether the resolutions are good or bad, they are a matter of very little moment. They undoubtedly speak the sense of the committee who framed them, but in no respect can they be considered as speaking the sense of the Convention. The resolutions were not adopted by a majority of the delegates. They were not put off a large number of the members had withdrawn; they were not debated, not considered, not even heard, a considerable number of the members present voted against them, and those who said they did not know to what they were giving their applause. The pretence of passing resolutions, of adopting a platform of political belief, under such circumstances, is the grossest farce in the world—a proceeding as destitute of moral force as if the resolutions had been adopted by a dozen chance travellers on board a steamboat."

The resolutions were deemed of vital importance by the Convention. It was with difficulty they were kept back until after the nomination of the Presidential candidate. While the balloting was going on, they were referred to, and their purport was triumphantly proclaimed. At 4 o'clock Saturday afternoon, the Convention assembled, to complete the nominations. All were then in attendance. The resolutions were submitted just before the balloting for a Vice Presidential candidate was commenced, laid upon the table, and ordered to be printed. On the last ballot, 277 votes were given for King, 11 for Jefferson Davis—showing that all the delegates were present. Immediately, the resolutions were taken up, read twice, and the portions relating to Slavery most clamorously applauded. Then followed the previous question, with a refusal to consider the resolutions separately: the New York delegates, trained ever since the act of reunion to let the Hunkers always define the platform, did not even call for a vote by States; and the whole series of resolutions were passed by a storm of affirmative votes. The delegates were all present; or, if any opposed to the resolutions had left, they were false to themselves and their constituents. Generally they understood clearly what they were, and what they were desired to accomplish; if any were ignorant, it was their own fault, and the fact would imply gross indifference on their part."

The truth is, the resolutions are important—

"The delegates were all present; for immediately after the passage of the resolutions, a vote was taken by States, on a motion to lay on the table the resolutions making certain provisions for future conventions, 126 voting in the affirmative, 152 in the negative, showing 278 present."

they were passed with a full understanding by the Convention that they were to be the platform of the Party, not only in the coming contest, but for the Democratic Party the next four years, nationally and in the States. They are the platform of the Party, and of its candidate, Mr. Pierce. He stands upon it, it is bound up in it, and, if elected, will continue to stand upon it.

The paragraph from the *Post* contains the individual opinion of its editor; the platform, the authorized creed of the Party, represented by the Convention. The man who votes for its nominees, votes for its platform. They are one and inseparable. If Mr. Pierce does not represent the doctrines proclaimed by the Convention from which he holds his nomination, what does he represent? If he does not represent those doctrines, by what authority is he a candidate?

We have often had occasion to speak of the independence of the *Evening Post*, and have seldom differed from it in principle or policy; but, with sorrow, we part from it now. We think resolutions mean something—that a nomination means something—that a vote for a Presidential candidate, nominated by a caucus pledged to Principles and Measures we hold to be fundamentally wrong, cannot be justified on any calculation of consequences, any plea of Party necessity. The philosophy of our friends of the *Post* conducts them to different conclusions. With such a philosophy, how long before they can hope to redeem their Party from thralldom to Slavery?

CONGRESS.

The *National Intelligencer* of yesterday, says of the proceedings of the present Congress: "It is related by Bacon, that once, during the reign of Queen Elizabeth of England, when Parliament had sat long, and the House of Commons especially had been in effect nothing, the Speaker of that body coming one day to the Queen, she said to him, 'Now, Mr. Speaker, what has passed in your House?' To which the Speaker replied, 'If it please your Majesty, seven weeks.'"

"If our sovereign (the People) of the United States could be supposed boldy to address the same question to Mr. Speaker Boyd, of our House of Representatives, what much more satisfactory reply than this could the Speaker make, substituting six months for seven weeks?"

However little has been done during the last six months, it is clear that nothing will be done during the present week. Congress has already adjourned over to Friday; if the Baltimore Convention should have completed its work before that time, the minds of members will be so much occupied with the result, that no other topic has a chance of receiving any attention in Congress, for the rest of the week, at least. If the proceedings of the Convention should be drawn out beyond Thursday, Congress might as well adjourn at once, till Monday, as it would be idle to obtain a quorum for business. When the Whig Convention is held, Congress must have a holiday of another week.

Nor is this to be the worst of it; the moment the two candidates for the Presidency are nominated, the warfare, which before was a series of skirmishes, becomes a general engagement; the struggles of different districts of the same party for the ascendancy are over; the two great parties are mustered against each other with an appearance of unanimity, and the contest is hand to hand. The daily allowance of harangue designed to affect the decision of the Presidential question will be made, till each member has fairly unburdened himself, and has done his share of the quantity of speeches to be read by his constituents; and then, when the members are tired of Washington and of each other, a few days, just as the two Houses are about to adjourn, will be set apart for the transaction of necessary business, which will be hurried through without due consideration, and so far as may be within its power, of course, be ill done.

New York Evening Post.

These evils being admitted, is there no remedy? Let us suggest a few remedial measures. First, let the President be ineligible for a second term. This change would to a great extent remove the temptation to the undue exercise of Executive influence over members of Congress, and at the same time lessen their susceptibility to it.

3dly. Extend the Presidential term two years longer, making it six instead of four years. The country would have longer intervals of quiet; Congress more time and disposition for the transaction of its legitimate business, and National politics would not so greatly overshadow State politics and interests, as is now the case.

3dly. Render members of Congress ineligible to any office in the gift of the Federal Executive, during the time for which they are elected, and for two years thereafter. Now, a constitutional provision prohibits them from being appointed, during the time for which they are elected, to an office under the United States, which has been created, or the emoluments of which have been increased, during that time.

This is good so far as it goes; but to secure disinterested men as the servants of the People, and promote strict attention to their duties as legislators, let them feel that while in the service of the People, and thus their own consciences alone they must look for support and reward. Acting under the general inhibition we propose, they would take very little personal interest in the choice of any particular man as the candidate of their Party; for to them personally it would be quite immaterial. They could expect no Cabinet appointment, or profitable Auditorship, or foreign Mission.

4thly. Substitute a fixed salary for a *per diem* allowance, and let the salary be ample enough to make the position of a representative the people more desirable, even under a pecuniary aspect, than a place in one of the Executive bureaus. In other words, make it more profitable for a representative to cultivate the good opinion of his constituents than the favor of the Federal Executive, and he will take more interest in doing their work than in manufacturing Presidents.

5thly. Reduce the patronage of the President, by making the eighteen thousand Deputy Postmasters of the country elective by the People; and regulate the appointments to clerkships, where possible, so as to secure each State its fair proportion, and also to exclude mere favoritism. This would tend to restrain within reasonable limits the ardor of ambitious members, intent upon the election of a candidate through whom they could dispose of the Executive patronage in their respective States.

6thly. Abolish the Franking Privilege. The facilities this secures for free and prompt circulation, stimulate political speeches by which the time of Congress is literally wasted. A member makes a speech in Congress, not to elucidate any measure under consideration, or to promote or prevent its passage, but for the sake of a political impression on his constituents; knowing that by the aid of a few fellow members, who he is always willing to reciprocate, he can have it printed at small cost, and sent to some thousands of his political friends without any cost at all. Abolish the Franking Privilege, and there will be a remarkable decrease of political speeches. Members, if they wish to produce a certain influence at home, instead of inflicting impertinent speeches on Congress, would then address personal letters to their constituents, directly, through the columns of their local newspapers.

7thly. Let no member of Congress be elected to a National Nominating Convention. We notice the names of several Senators and Representatives in the list of delegates recently in attendance at the Democratic Convention in Baltimore. Let the legislator attend to the business of making laws, and the convention

delegate to the task of selecting suitable candidates for his Party. The two things are distinct, and should be kept so. Intelligent and active men are not so scarce, that double duty must needs be performed by one set of agents. 8thly. Finally, let such Conventions be held at some point so distant that they may not be independently of Congressional influence, and Congress proceed with its business without interruption from conventional influence. The impropriety of holding them in Washington during the session of Congress would be manifest. They would interfere with the efficient discharge of legislative functions, and so far from representing the popular will, would fall under the control of legislative caucuses. What better is Baltimore than Washington? The railroad and telegraph bring them so closely in juxtaposition that the Convention might almost as well be held in the one place as in the other.

For the week before the late Convention, Washington was crowded, the lobbies of Congress were filled with politicians, and the prevailing excitement prevented the transaction of business. During the week of its session, neither House sat, except for the purpose of adjourning; the absence of a quorum, or the excitement of suspense, anxiety, expectation, would have averted all business.

These suggestions are thrown out for consideration. The evils referred to are growing, and, if not checked, Congress ere long will sink its character as a legislative body into that of an intriguing, corrupt, political caucus.

LITERARY NOTICES.

WYANDOTT'S: His Wanderings and Ways of Thinking. By Daniel Macleod. New York: Charles Scribner. For sale by R. Farham, Pa. avenue, Washington, D. C.

A somewhat rhetorical volume of travels or wanderings in the Alps and about them, in which we have occasionally brilliant pictures, with incidents invented by the author, and made the texts of quaint comments.

KATE PENROSE, or Life and its Lessons. By Miss Hubbard. New York: Dwyer & Davenport. For sale by Shillington & Co., Pa. avenue, Washington, D. C.

Kate Penrose is a young girl, with many good qualities, but headstrong and hasty, who marries against good counsel, and finds her reward in the humiliation and agonies of domestic indifference, tyranny, and brutality. It is a short story, well told, and to the point.

A POEM ON THE USE OF TOBACCO. By Rev. C. S. Adams. Boston: Hall & Co. For sale as above.

This is decidedly a practical poem; and if any one would see the wisdom of the filthy weed, and its vile effects properly exposed and denounced, let him read it.

THE DALTONS; or, Three Roads in Life. By Charles Lever. New York: The Harpers. For sale by Frank Taylor, Washington, D. C.

This novel, of three hundred and seventy pages, will not be deemed too long by the admirers of the author of *Maurice Tenney* and *Charles O'Malley*. He has occasion to refer to important political events, and takes care to throw his influence on the side of Civil and Religious Liberty. It is full of action and dramatic interest.

THE EDINBURGH REVIEW, April, 1852. New York: Leonard Scott & Co. For sale by Taylor & Maury, Pa. avenue, Washington, D. C.

This number contains a fair and liberal review of Squier's Niagara, and refers in a good-natured way to the policy of our Government in relation to that country. The reviewer remarks that, having no responsibility for the acts of their American brethren, the English people may fairly rejoice at the steady progress of American empire southward; but, in a postscript, he qualifies the remark as follows:

"In speaking at page 391 of the unsullied enjoyment we might derive from the progress of the Provinces which our kinsfolk in America have severed and may sever from the old inheritance of Spain, we have overlooked one terrible exception—that of the spread of Slavery. For, unfortunately, the Stripes and Stars, as it advances south, carries Slavery along with it."

This is true as it regards Texas, but not in relation to California; nor can it yet be certainly known whether it will prove true of New Mexico and Utah. Whatever the machinations of the Slave Power may accomplish hereafter, those Territories now are free, in fact and in law.

As a hint to future commentators, I suggest misprint here. Leeks were more likely to

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ess, than as a crest, which we know to be a
thing usually composed of hair or feathers.

the leading end of the life of St. Patrick, per-
mired on Croagh Patrick, is thus beautifully
paraphrased by a naive minstrel:

John! Antrim hills are mighty high, and so's the
Hill of Howth, too;
And all the mountains that are higher than
them both, too;
I was on the top of that high mount, St. Patrick
preached a sermon;
And he said unto the hogs, and banished all
the vermin."

Then, after March, the noisy boy, comes—
used to come—April, the crying girl. What-
ever the weather, she is on her behaving as if
she ought not to behave, she cannot trick out of
her great day of tricks; we will be April Fools!
The man who doesn't like to be a fool, is fit for

Satisfactory replies as to musical character, Her-
man's musical ability for the government of such a
band will be required.

A colored man would be preferred, qualifications to
qualify.

Communications may be addressed to

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May 27—

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Just received at the Free Labor Store, a variety
of handsome fabrics, composed of cotton, wool and
satin and wool, mostly adapted to the demands of
summer life. Also Gingham, Striped, and
Gingham, Fancy Gingham, Leather, Cord Check
and other goods. Also a variety of hats, hats,
Striped de Laines—all in various new styles.
Also a variety of hats, hats, hats, hats, hats,
Striped de Laines—all in various new styles.
Also a variety of hats, hats, hats, hats, hats,
Striped de Laines—all in various new styles.

W. N. cor. of 5th and Cherry sts., Philadelphia
Fifth month 27, 1861.

is the very man to punish on the first of April. "Beshrew the man," says Elia, "who has such a day as this should affect to stand

woof! I am none of those sneakers. I am one of the corporation, and care not who knows he that meets me in the forest to-day, shall meet with no witness, I can tell him! *Stulus* stands up, and says, I shall tell the meaning of this to you, and you shall know that I never made an acquaintance that lasted, or a friendship that answered, with any one that did not some picture of the absurd in their faces. And take my word for it, if you are, indeed, as you say, a philosopher, that he who hath not a dream of philosophy, is a fool.

in his mixture, both pounds of much worse art in his composition." April has her own tall jokes in the way of fool-making. The student confound of a faint, feeble, and enfeebled walk, looks up into her face for an answer about the weather. "There'll be a severe one!" says April, with a frown. So the student commits himself to walk out with the wind in his umbrella, and the umbrella looks as if there would be no more rain till midsummer; and the umbrellas make the student man look like a fool. Then April has her own only looks, but there. There is that much about her, that she is the nuptial. She is a night-strain is unrivaled; because nobody would think of playing melodies at midnight, except students who are learning the mandoline, and are ashamed to practice it when the moon is shining. She is a night-strain, but why not praise the throat, and the back, and the wood-lark? I should like to hear a better ballad-singer than the robin! I praise for the nightingale being crossed in love, and the sentimental, and the song.

May's eyes are the eyes of the eyes.

And youths and maidens most poetical,
Who lose the deepening twilight of the Spring
All of stirring, stirring, stirring, stirring,
Full of mess sympathy, must have their night
Of Philomela's plying-strings drawn
To the heart of the heart of the heart
A different love: we may not thus profane
Nature's sweet voice, always full of love
And of the heart of the heart of the heart
That crowds, and hurries, and precipitates,
With fast, thick warble, his delicious notes
To the heart of the heart of the heart
He would be too short for him to utter forth
His love chant, and disturb him his full
Of the heart of the heart of the heart

[illegible]

appointment. I have suffered from the constant liquidity of the Serpentine. If I have tagged rhymes from all manner of poets about London, and that sort of thing, I beg to inform Londoners, they are not to be taken too seriously. I have to stand on the stone bridges in the morning, and they will see what Wordsworth himself declares to be quite equal to Cumberland, here, I fear.

Earth has not anything to show us fair—
Dull would it be that saw such works as this,
A sight so touching in its majesty:
This city now doth like a garment wear,
The materials whereof it is built are there,
Ships, towers, domes, theatres, and temples, lie,
Open upon the fields to the sky,
And so with a step comes a woman, or a child,
Or a thousand men, and they with their din
Open upon the fields, and so it is,
And the first and last of them, come and go
Never did we more beautifully part,
In his first splendour valleys, rock, or hill,
Or in the air, or in the deep, or deep,
Or in the heart of the earth, or in the heart,
To let us not be sighing here in London after
fields and flowers. We are better off. And what
are the lambs to us unrosted? And what
are the flowers to us unperfumed? And what
are the birds to us untrilled? And what
are they had better flock in grass than in music
there they may do as they please, but I shall stop

town. I suspect foul play. I suspect that Winter has been made away with, and Spring is too clearly a gainer not to lie open to suspicion. Spring was seen where she had no business to be, stealing about timidly at Christmas, and, when her proper time came, stealing away together, to let Winter in where and when he was not wanted. There is something wrong in

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Jan. 22-

FULLER'S COMPUTING TELEGRAPH. THE proprietor of this work has received the most liberal patronage in America, and has been enabled to publish the work in a more complete and useful form than any other similar work. More time is required to prepare each page than to obtain answers to any business computation. The work is so arranged that the student can learn to compute in a few days, and can then apply the principles to any business computation. The work is so arranged that the student can learn to compute in a few days, and can then apply the principles to any business computation. The work is so arranged that the student can learn to compute in a few days, and can then apply the principles to any business computation.

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Xmas, 1890.
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 John W. Sullivan, Esq., Boston; Hon. John W. Foster,
 Hon. J. M. McKim, Hon. Timothy Walker, Wash-

about twenty minutes, and came to a strong roar, each side of which was ornamented with pillars of the Tuccan architecture. The door was open, and by the party passed the threshold the strangers found themselves surrounded by tapers of human bones, which the glare of their tapers brought showed regularly piled up from the floors to the roof of the quarries. The bones of the

bones and arms laid closely, with their ends out- ward; and at regular intervals skulls are interspersed in three horizontal ranges, disposed so as to represent alternate rows of the back behind the front of the head; and sometimes a single perpendicular range is seen, still farther vary- ing the general outline. Passing along these seems to be interminable ranges of these

How new, how strange remarks! the author, were the associations of this place. Over the meadows was rolling the vast tide of life in the gray and wicked city—the myriads of inhabitants

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[illegible]

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